Book review: White People, Indians and Highlanders: Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America

the issues, I would be interested to learn more about the views of the locals involved in the success of the public vaccination efforts. Moreover, the politics of anti-vaccination would also make interesting reading. This movement took strength after 1874, Brunton's end date, and prior to the 1898 Vaccination Act which replaced compulsion with the possibility for a certificate of exemption. These suggestions in no way detract from this fine study. It will be of interest to students of politics, public policy, medicine and history.

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White People, Indians and Highlanders: Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America.
By Colin G. Calloway. Pp. xx, 368.
ISBN: 9780195340129.
New York: Oxford University Press, 2008. £19.99.

This is an ambitious and interesting book written by an eminent historian of the native peoples of America (Colin Calloway holds a chair of history and Native American Studies at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire). The author attempts an ambitious comparative history of Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans, and in the process has taught himself a great deal of Highland and Scottish history. As a former President of the American Society for Ethnohistory, Calloway has produced a compelling survey of the histories of two very different peoples who nevertheless came into contact in an interesting way in many different places and in many different contexts during the long history of European settlement and western expansion in North America. The pioneering work in Scotland on this subject was Donald Meek's 1990 article in the *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* (vol. 23 part 2), 'Scottish Highlanders, North American Indians and the SSPCK: Some Cultural Perspectives', which first drew some of the comparisons Calloway has now followed up so admirably. Different as they were, the many peoples in North America who were considered 'Indians' and the Gaelic-speaking population of the Scottish Highlands were both considered 'savage' within the framework of the British empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

It might be objected that considering Scots Gaelic-speakers separately from the Gaelic-speaking population of Ireland is somewhat artificial for the purposes of undertaking a comparative cultural study with native American culture, but Scottish Highlanders were distinctive in their impact on native American culture and on America more generally because in the eighteenth century in particular because they both played a key role in the development and expansion of the North American fur trade and in the Highland regiments of the British army became associated with British military power in North America. Thus the problem at the centre of this book is how a people who in a British context were considered savage, backward, and a threat to the political stability of Britain during the first half of the eighteenth century had by the second half of the same century become so identified with British contact with native peoples in North America. As Kathryn Holland Braund has noted, Indians admired the 'plaids, headdresses, and lack of trousers' associated with Highland dress (*Deerskins and Duffels: Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-America, 1685–1815*, 1st edn 1993, p. 125). Calloway includes (p. 138) a splendid illustration of a Glengarry-style Iroquois beaded cap of the nineteenth century held by the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. Such influence was partly due to

the prominence of Highland Scots in the Indian trade but partly also reflected Indian belief that part of British military power was embodied in the scarlet and tartan in which it was often dressed. In other words, Scots and Indians in North America were not united by their cultural similarities in relation to what was represented by British imperialism, but divided by their relationship to it.

Nevertheless, in a chapter entitled 'Clearances and Removals', Calloway explores some of the similarities in terms of loss of land, concluding with the fascinating information that $190 was sent to Scotland in 1847 by the Cherokee nation in 1847 'for the relief of those who are suffering by the famine in Scotland' (p. 200). It is not accurate to suggest that this 'was more than many Lowland Scots were willing to do for their Highland compatriots', in that public opinion in Scotland was aroused by contemporary press coverage of hardship in the Highlands and the cruelties of some examples of clearance by landowners there. Yet if the population of the Highlands was not 'removed' in the manner of eastern American Indian tribes, no one can question the scale of depopulation in the Scottish Highlands during the nineteenth century, nor its relation to changing ideas about land tenure and ownership. It is also important to remember that although many Highlanders did go to America, many others migrated to the cities and towns of the Scottish Lowlands or England. Just as in modern America Indians who have migrated to urban areas and intermarry with the people they encountered there became less clearly 'Indian'.

Calloway ends with a chapter and epilogue that discuss in more general terms the issues of myth, history and identity at the centre of his study. There are some difficulties in focusing the discussion due to the very varied circumstances of the context of empire in Britain itself as opposed to Canada and even more problematically, the USA. One valuable point is that myth is able to flourish once the objects of mythology disappeared. As it became more difficult to identify 'real' Indians and Highlanders in the nineteenth century, so it became easier to create mythic images to represent them. These varied, as in the nineteenth century highlanders became more identified with British empire while in America Indians became identified with one particular region of North America in the Great Plains. Part of the problematic aspect of the conclusion of the book is its elision of the ideas of race and ethnicity. Eighteenth-century Enlightenment ideas of stadial history and cultural relativism were very different from the racial ideology that came to characterise both American and British (and no doubt other European) expansionism in the nineteenth century. In that sense retaining a focus on the early modern period throughout would have made the analysis that underpins the book more clear. The modern Highlands and its people, like the history of the survival of native American culture in the nineteenth century, is worthy of study in its own right in a manner that would make it possible to engage more fully with its complexity. Calloway in his epilogue acknowledges that as 'Scotland and Indian nations have reasserted their sovereignty', defining 'what makes a Scot a Scot and an Indian an Indian' has become more problematic.

The achievement of this book is that it demonstrates the value as well as the challenges of comparative history, and in the process it has made a valuable contribution to Scottish history and 'Scottish studies' as well as the 'Native American studies' which provided the platform for its genesis.

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